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IO/UNP: SWZELLE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 047786

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL PGOV BE RW
SUBJECT: BELGIANS CALL FOR CONTINUED PRESSURE ON RWANDANS

REF: A) STATE 22910 B) KIGALI 505 AND 551
C) KIGALI 634 D) STATE 34617 AND 39426
E) STATE 40575 F) KIGALI 634 G) USUN NEW YORK 707

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

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2. SUMMARY. ACTING ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM BRUSSELS, BELGIAN AMBASSADOR JUAN CASSIERS CALLED ON AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER ON FEB. 23 TO REPORT ON THE RESULTS OF FM CLAES'S VISIT TO RWANDA. CASSIERS URGED THE U.S. TO PUT CONTINUED PRESSURE ON THE RWANDANS TO FORM THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT AND SAID THAT CLAES BELIEVED HABYARIMANA BORE PRINCIPAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE IMPASSE. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER OUTLINED THE MANY MEASURES WE HAVE TAKEN TO PUSH THE RWANDANS TO INSTALL THE GOVERNMENT AND NOTED THAT ALL THE RWANDAN PARTIES WERE TRYING TO ACHIEVE THE SAME END: A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND CABINET MOST FAVORABLE TO THEIR FACTION. CASSIERS WELCOMED OUR EFFORTS AND CONCLUDED THAT THE U.S. AND BELGIUM WERE "ON THE SAME WAVELENGTH." END SUMMARY

AMB. REPORTS ON CLAES'S TRIP, URGES CONTINUED PRESSURE

3. CASSIERS (ACCOMPANIED BY AFRICA WATCHER BERTRAND DE
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CROMBRUGGHE) OPENED THE MEETING BY EXPRESSING HIS PLEASURE WITH OUR FEB. 23 PRESS STATEMENT ON RWANDA, WHICH HE SAID WAS VERY MUCH IN LINE WITH THE MESSAGE THAT FM CLAES HAD DELIVERED IN KIGALI. THE AMBASSADOR REPORTED THAT CLAES HAD MET WITH HABYARIMANA, THE CURRENT AND DESIGNATED FUTURE PRIME MINISTERS, THE UN SYG'S SPECIAL ENVOY AND UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE, AND OTHERS, AND HAD EXPRESSED BELGIUM'S CONCERN OVER THE CONTINUED DELAYS IN INSTALLING THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT; HE STRESSED THAT THESE DELAYS WERE HARMFUL TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND JEOPARDIZED BELGIUM'S BILATERAL AID PROGRAM. CLAES CALLED ON THE RWANDANS TO URGENTLY TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO RESOLVE THE IMPASSE OR RISK LOSING THEIR CREDIBILITY.

4. ALTHOUGH CASSIERS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SPLITS IN THE MDR AND THE PL PARTIES WERE THE SOURCE OF THE IMPASSE, HE SAID CLAES BELIEVED HABYARIMANA WAS BEHIND THE SPLITS AND IS TRYING TO OBTAIN A BLOCKING MINORITY. CASSIERS SAID THE RWANDANS SHOULD GO FORWARD WITH THE INSTALLATION OF THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, EVEN IF THE SPLITS ARE NOT FULLY RESOLVED, AND SHOULD FILL ANY REMAINING DISPUTED SEATS AT SOME LATER TIME. THE AMBASSADOR CONCLUDED HIS PRESENTATION BY POINTING OUT

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THAT BELGIUM AND THE U.S. SHARE AN INTEREST IN SEEING THAT RWANDA DOES NOT RETURN TO CIVIL WAR. TO THAT END, HE URGED THAT WE CONTINUE TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE RWANDANS, AND IN PARTICULAR ON HABYARIMANA, TO RESOLVE THE CURRENT IMPASSE.

RENDER DESCRIBES "FULL-COURT PRESS"
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5. IN RESPONSE, AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER (ACCOMPANIED BY DESKOFF AISTON) STRESSED THAT WE ARE MAKING A "FULL-COURT PRESS" ON THE RWANDANS TO BREAK THE IMPASSE AND FORM THE NEW GOVERNMENT. SHE OUTLINED THE MANY STEPS WE HAVE ALREADY TAKEN TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE RWANDANS, INCLUDING:

-- OUR INSTRUCTIONS TO THE FIELD FOR TRILATERAL DEMARCHES (REF A), WHICH WE SENT RIGHT AFTER THE TROIKA MEETING IN PARIS AT THE END OF JANUARY. (AS AN ASIDE, RENDER NOTED THAT THE EU INSTRUCTIONS ARRIVED LATER, DUE TO THE NEED FOR COORDINATION);

-- THE STRONG MESSAGE DELIVERED BY IO A/S BENNET DURING HIS EARLY FEBRUARY VISIT (REF B);

-- THE ROUND OF JOINT DEMARCHES OUR AMBASSADOR AND HIS WESTERN COLLEAGUES MADE TO ALL SIDES THE SECOND WEEK IN FEBRUARY (REF C);

-- AF DAS BUSHNELL'S MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON WITH RPF CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE ON FEB. 4 AND RWANDAN AMBASSADOR UWIMANA ON FEB. 9 (REF D);

-- OUR NOTIFICATION TO THE GOR THAT WE WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE UNDP ROUNDTABLE IF THE GOVERNMENT WAS NOT INSTALLED (REFS E AND F); AND

-- OUR SUPPORT FOR THE FEB. 17 UN SECURITY COUNCIL STATEMENT ON RWANDA (REF G).

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6. RENDER POINTED OUT THAT SHE PLANNED TO TRAVEL TO RWANDA IN MARCH AND THAT AF DAS BUSHNELL MAY TRAVEL THERE AS WELL. IF THE GOVERNMENT STILL HAS NOT FORMED BY THEN, WE WOULD USE THE OPPORTUNITY TO PUT ADDED PRESSURE ON THE RWANDANS TO BREAK THE IMPASSE. SHE ADDED THAT WE WERE ACTIVELY CONSIDERING OTHER MEASURES TO PRESS HABYARIMANA AND RWANDA'S OTHER POLITICAL LEADERS. WHILE WE ARE NOT TRYING TO THREATEN OR INTIMIDATE RWANDA, WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S PATIENCE IS WEARING THIN AND THAT THE UN OPERATION IS VERY COSTLY; IF THE RWANDANS CONTINUED THEIR POLITICAL QUIBBLING TOO LONG, THEY MIGHT LOOK UP ONE DAY AND FIND THAT NO ONE WAS THERE TO HELP THEM. SHE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT OUR OPTIONS FOR APPLYING PRESSURE WERE LIMITED. CASSIERS AGREED AND POINTED OUT THAT BELGIUM COULD NOT CUT HUMANITARIAN AID.

7. RENDER CONCLUDED BY ASKING CASSIERS TO ASSURE HIS MINISTER THAT WE ARE DOING ALL WE CAN TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE RWANDANS. CASSIERS WELCOMED OUR EFFORTS AND SAID THAT IT WAS CLEAR THE U.S. AND BELGIUM WERE "ON THE SAME WAVELENGTH."

WHO'S TO BLAME?

8. RENDER NOTED THAT ALL SIDES ARE TRYING TO DO THE SAME THING: CONTROL THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND GOVERNMENT THROUGH ENSURING THAT THEIR PEOPLE OR THEIR ALLIES ARE SEATED IN THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS. SHE SAID WE HAVE EMPHASIZED THAT COALITIONS ARE NOT PERMANENT AND EVEN IF
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ONE SIDE THINKS IT HAS THE DEPUTIES IT WANTS, THOSE
DEPUTIES MAY NOT VOTE THE WAY THAT SIDE HAD HOPED.

9. REITERATING CASSIERS' EARLIER STATEMENT, AFRICA WATCHER DE CROMBRUGGHE SAID THAT CLAES THOUGHT HABYARIMANA BORE THE MOST RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CURRENT IMPASSE. HE ASKED WHETHER OUR MESSAGE REFLECTED THIS OR WHETHER WE WERE MAKING THE SAME POINTS TO ALL SIDES. RENDER REPLIED THAT WE HAVE STRESSED THAT HABYARIMANA, AS PRESIDENT OF THE COUNTRY, BEARS RESPONSIBILITY FOR FULLY IMPLEMENTING THE ACCORDS. IN HIS ROLE AS PRESIDENT, AND IN THE ABSENCE OF A GOVERNMENT, HE HAS A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY AS THE COUNTRY'S LEADER TO WORK TO BREAK

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THE IMPASSE. RENDER ADDED THAT WE HAVE TOLD THE RPF THAT THEY MUST ABIDE BY THE ACCORDS AS WELL, AND HAVE CAUTIONED BOTH SIDES AGAINST INTERFERING IN THE OTHER PARTIES' SELECTION OF DEPUTIES AND MINISTERS.

10. COMMENT: THE BELGIANS LEFT SATISFIED THAT WE WERE PUTTING APPROPRIATE PRESSURE ON THE RWANDANS AND WERE OPERATING ON THE "SAME WAVELENGTH". HOWEVER, SOME SLIGHT DIVERGENCE OF OPINION REMAINS OVER WHICH PARTY IS MOST AT FAULT FOR THE IMPASSE AND WHETHER MORE PRESSURE SHOULD BE PLACED ON HABYARIMANA THAN ON THE OTHER PARTIES. DESPITE THE BELGIAN POSITION THAT MORE PRESSURE SHOULD BE PUT ON HABYARIMANA, CASSIERS DID NOT ASK FOR A SPECIFIC DEMARCHE OR SUGGEST ANY OTHER MEASURE AIMED SPECIFICALLY AT HABYARIMANA. FOR NOW, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT PRESSURING ALL SIDES IS MOST APPROPRIATE AND MOST EFFECTIVE. THIS APPROACH RECOGNIZES THAT ALL SIDES SHARE SOME BLAME FOR THE IMPASSE AND ALLOWS US TO MAINTAIN OUR

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CREDIBILITY AS AN HONEST BROKER. END COMMENT
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